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15 May 1980

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FOUO No. 674



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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

NIGERIA SHARING IN NIGER URANIUM MINING COMPANY

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 749

[Article: "Mining Cooperation With Nigeria"]

[Text] On 19-20 March, Nigeria's president, Mr Alhaji Shehu Shagari, made an official 24-hour visit to Niger during which he visited, among others, Niger's Solar Energy Office.

This was the second trip abroad of Nigeria's head of state, and it was also his second meeting with Niger's president, Seyni Kountche. Last 24 September, on his way to Lome, President Kountche had stopped in Lagos to take leave of Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, retiring head of state, and to have a first meeting with President Shagari who was to enter office on 1 October.

In its 19 March editorial (in French and in English), entitled "indissoluble ties," the government daily LE SAHEL stressed the fact that "everything that affects Niger affects Nigeria, and vice versa." "We saw it at the time of the severe drought," the newspaper underlines, "from which we have suffered and which we have overcome thanks especially to the generous assistance of Nigeria... We see it above all in the concrete realizations of the joint Nigero-Nigerian cooperation commission which, without unnecessary publicity, but with real and proven efficiency, is greatly contributing to the development of our countries."

Nigeria has acquired a 16 percent participation in an uranium mining company in Niger, President Shehu Shagari announced in Niamey on 20 March. The deposit involved is said to be the Afasto East deposit, near Arlit; the other partners are the French COGEM [expansion unknown], Niger's Office for Mining Resources (ONAREM), a German company (Saarberg), and a British company (CEBG [expansion unknown]).

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ANGOLA

ALLEGED PROOF OF SAVIMBI-PIDE COLLABORATION PRESENTED

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French No 211, 14 Apr 80 pp 41-43

[Article by Jack Bourderie: "Jonas Malheiro Savimbi: Back Again!..."]

[Text] "When one dines with the devil, one needs a long spoon," says Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the ineffable president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, in an interview "granted" to writer and newsman Jean Larteguy, who works for the French magazine PARIS-MATCH. We could add that one needs a 10-foot pole to touch Jonas Malheiro Savimbi.

Having read this interminable document interwoven with flagrant and colossal lies, which follows numerous other "interviews" granted both to Moroccan television--and reprinted by all the local newspapers--and to rightist or fascist-leaning U.S. and Portuguese periodicals, many questions come to mind. Here they are: what is the periodical PARIS-MATCH? Who is Jean Larteguy? What is Savimbi seeking? What do those people who promote him and are attempting to give a new aura to his tarnished reputation want to make of him?

PARIS-MATCH, once upon a time, was managed by Raymond Cartier. He gave his name to the doctrine of "Cartierism," something akin to what "McCarthyism" used to be in the U.S., a doctrine whose two main dogmas were anti-communism of the most virulent, primeval type, and opposition to the dismantling of colonial empires; to defend these, he conducted a ceaseless and obstinate action, more often than not from the rear.

Following Cartier's death, this policy remained unchanged, and today's PARIS-MATCH is the proud inheritor of its former master, with one difference: now, it is fighting for decolonization, the decolonization of the progressive and revolutionary countries which it likes to believe are occupied by...the Soviets, the Cubans, the East Germans, etc., according to the whim of its specters. "The West is presenting the Russians with Africa." This is the banner headline Larteguy gives to his interview with Savimbi.

This weekly, however, which is sold under the slogan "the weight of words, the shock of pictures," does not mind some cheating when, precisely through the "shock of pictures," it can influence its readers and make them trust,

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if not in its omniscience, at least in its omnipresence on all the battlefields. An example: while in May 1978, its reporters had actually arrived in Kolwezi on the coattails of the French army, it spread on two pages a picture of Gen Mbumba's general staff taken by the National Liberation Front of the Congo-Kinshasa, which had been given to the special correspondent of AFRIQUE-ASIE and had arrived at an agency by mistake, lost among other rolls of film for developing. Nothing wrong so far: however, PARIS-MATCH did not hesitate to headline unashamedly on page one: "Our reporters on both sides of the battlefield."

This example illustrates what little credence this "information" organ deserves. As for Savimbi, one wonders why Larteguy felt the need to travel in order to meet him "in a friendly African country," when the UNITA leader made a long, albeit discreet, visit to Paris, where he reportedly met with Holden who is enjoying a comfortable "retirement" in a villa in Neuilly belonging to the French special services.

"The West Defends Its Own"

Let us turn to Jean Larteguy. His trilogy on the colonial wars ("The Centurions," "The Mercenaries," "The Pretorians") propelled him to the limelight. In these books, he was exalting this great fraternity of arms--from the French side--vaunted by the most backward elements of the French army. He had become more than the confidant of those officers who wanted to fight to the last, whom he was interviewing and picturing throughout his writings. While he was arriving in Algiers to "cover" the putsch of the "quarter of retired generals" supported by "a group of partisan, ambitious and fanatic officers," one of these told him: "You have made a good living out of us, haven't you?" Today, deprived of colonies, this 60-year old man jumps with paratroopers, attempting to resuscitate his nostalgia at the slightest opportunity: with the Kolwezi affair, where "the West defends its own" thanks to its "handsome paratroopers who know their business," he finds again one of those "heroes" whom he loves, Col Erulin, in charge of operation "Leopard, which was a success," without which the Zairian FLNC fighters would have "slaughtered blacks and whites in the name of a kind of Marxism-Leninism bearing strong overtones of beer and fetishism."

Indeed, "the West defends its own," as it defended them once upon a time in Indochina, as it did yesterday in Algeria where Col Erulin, at that time only a lieutenant, was already on a rampage. The West defended its own with napalm and torture, with rapes and bombs... "Death of a centurion," writes Larteguy, when "Col Philippe Erulin, the hero of Kolwezi" dies in his own bed; and he wipes a furtive tear, which a strong man like him cannot repress at the distress of witnessing the disappearance of one of his best ornaments in his portrait gallery.

This is, then, the Larteguy to whom Jonas Savimbi, the "leader of the Angolan UNITA, the party resisting the Luanda communist government," has chosen to confide to in this PARIS-MATCH...or rather, more precisely, to depict--as he did, once upon a time, with Dominique de Roux--his geo-political

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visions, his military-strategic aims. This, of course, would only be ridiculous if he did not add vicious and gratuitous allegations, which, however, happen not to be fortuitous.

It must be stressed that he is unequalled in the art of making dead people speak. Even their death does not belong to them any longer. He attacks on a self-evident truth: "It is in Angola that Africa's fate is at stake," followed by "and therefore, that of Europe." This statement leaves one breathless when it is well-known that he has tried so hard to project the image of one of the fiercest defenders of his country's independence. He concludes with: "To win, the Russians are ready to commit any crimes." "As in Afghanistan, where, one by one, they murdered all their faithful followers when they refused to become their slaves: Daoud(!), Taraki, Amin, tomorrow Karmal...", continues Larteguy the abettor. And Savimbi: "Like Agostinho Neto in Angola." Larteguy the ingenuous: "Neto died of a disease." Savimbi, well-informed: "No, he was eliminated by the Russians just like Amin and the others when he expressed the desire to get in touch with the West and with me."

Thus, at the time Neto died, "eliminated by the Russians," he was on the verge of contacting Savimbi.

We could refute every detail of the "facts" cited by Savimbi in the interview. Everything in it is false, falsified, truncated, altered, made up, including number and dates. Everything. Unfortunately, this would go beyond the context of a simple article. However, we are in possession of written proof that President Neto, the serious nationalist, the thoughtful progressive and ardent revolutionary, never, but never, entertained the slightest intention of effecting a rapprochement with Savimbi. He said it himself to Senghor at the OAU summit in Monrovia: "Impossible!" Mombasa, Alvor, Nakuru had been necessary compromises to achieve the independence that had taken the lives of so many valiant militants and fighters and had been the source of so much suffering for the Angolan people over 15 years.

Entice the Whites

If a collaboration could have been created, it would have taken place during the period of transition. However, it is precisely during this period that proof became evident that it was impossible to labor for the reconstruction of a country bled to death together with an accomplice of both the CIA and Mobutu, Roberto Holden, and a Savimbi who was gambling on tribal divisions and was attempting, paradoxically, to entice the whites by proving to them that he could represent a "third way" between the irreducible follower of Washington--the leader of the FNLA--and the "socialist threat" represented by the MPLA. The clearly Maoist speeches given by Savimbi in the Moxico regions are thus obviously left behind.

At that time, however, the MPLA did not yet know that Chipenda had been a PIDE agent when he was in Portugal, and that Savimbi, too, had been the tool

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of the Portuguese in their attempt to destroy the guerrillas of the Eastern Front, just as the FNLA was used to destroy those of the north and to prevent the circulation of the guerrillas between Cabinda and the provinces of the northern part of the country. The MPLA thought, at the time, that their differences were solely due to tribal quarrels which ought to be settled. When AFRIQUE-ASIE, the first to do so, published in July 1974 (No 61) long excerpts from letters exchanged between Savimbi and Gen Luz Cunha, commander-in-chief of the armed forces in Angola on 26 September 1972, and also between the former and Lt Col Ramires de Oliveira, commander of the general staff of the eastern military zone, Luso, in October and November 1972, everyone was flabbergasted. How could Savimbi's men have served as guides to the Portuguese troops to detect the MPLA camps in the region? We were insulted, we were threatened. The reproach that we were dividing the Angolan people was addressed to us at times.

Of course, Savimbi maintained--and still does--that this was false; meanwhile, a member of the Council of the Revolution, Cpt Castro, has produced the originals of those letters and others in the same vein, maintaining that the documents published by AFRIQUE-ASIE were absolutely authentic and that Savimbi was a close collaborator of the Portuguese colonial forces and of the PIDE. There are no questions on this subject in the Larteguy interview, as there are none as well in all those published in rightist papers in Portugal, and all the more so in Rabat. Yet, these questions could have held a great deal of interest for these papers, which happen to be professional anti-communists. Savimbi, whose permanent representative in Europe, Jeremias Chitunda, was present at a 1978 conference of extreme rightists held in Lisbon on the "Russian imperialist threat in Europe," claims, in fact, that these documents were falsified by the Soviet KGB.

These false documents are reportedly numerous; because what Jonas Malheiro Savimbi does not know, is that we are in possession of the most important part of the "muito secreto" [top secret] correspondence exchanged between Savimbi and the Portuguese authorities within the framework of what was then called "Operacao Madeira" during all of 1973 and 1974 before the 25th of April, more specifically through the intermediary of Savimbi's lieutenant, Sabrino, and Father Antonio de Araujo Oliveira. To complete this file, we are also in possession of a document issued by the PIDE, the Portuguese political police of sinister memory, which details the political-military situation on 18 July 1973 and reviews ways to use UNITA to foment contradictions within the MPLA through the exacerbation of personal rivalries, unsatisfied ambitions, etc. Caetano himself, in his "Depoimento," confirms this collaboration. Finally, while Savimbi had, no doubt, after the 25th of April, lost contact with his good Portuguese friends of the colonial period, he contacted Father Antonio de Araujo Oliveira to find out what his next move should be, candidly writing: "Without claiming to be able to predict the future, (...), it is true that I foresaw the coup d'etat; this partly explains why I proceeded to a series of feverish activities since the beginning of April, as well as why UNITA suddenly initiated action since that time..."

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This 13 May 1974 letter was photocopied and sent to "Excellency in charge of the government and esteemed friend" on 16 May 1974 by Ernesto Ferreira Macedo from the cabinet of the Luso governor.

This is a temporary end: it seems that Portuguese specialists are preparing a book on the question of the "long UNITA treason," as we had called it at the time, of the collaboration file between Savimbi and the Portuguese and of how he became the tool they used in their attempt to destroy the MPLA. Here, then, is one of the most important reasons militating against this famous "reconciliation," trotted out periodically, between Savimbi and President Neto. However, there is another reason, a much more serious one, which affects all of the African peoples, no matter what their political regimes: it is the military and political collaboration between UNITA and [South] Africa, at a time when this country was attempting to suffocate the MPLA on the eve of independence through the south and in cahoots with Zaire and the FNLA's Holden in the north, and continuing, in later stages, its aggressions against the young People's Republic of Angola.

I personally witnessed the destruction brought about jointly by the South Africans and the followers of Savimbi and of the FNLA-Chipenda. I heard the accounts of tortures and massacres. I saw the burned remains of corpses put to the torch, dead or alive. Our special correspondents, in particular Wilfred Burchett, Jane Bergerol and August Conchiglia were the witnesses of, and spoke in our pages about, the discovery of charnel-houses, the systematic elimination of all those suspected in any way of having been in touch with the MPLA. Thousands perished thus. UNITA had--and continues to do so--its training camps in territories controlled by Pretoria.

Urban Terrorism

If tragic realities were not involved, it would be comical to hear Savimbi say: "I went to see the Americans and the others. [...] And it was then that they committed the very serious mistake of asking the South Africans to intervene, instead of, for example, contacting the Moroccans or the French."

Larteguy: "It was then the Americans who pushed the South Africans into entering Angola?"

Savimbi: "And all the West with them. And the South Africans accepted. To tell you the truth, I was not informed. [...] One fine day I learned that the South Africans had entered Angola with their tanks. There were only 2000 of them, not more [...] Now that the mistake had been made, profit from it, go all the way, the South Africans take Luanda then retire and leave us to occupy it."

Larteguy: "Could you have won?"

Savimbi: "Yes. If we had occupied Luanda after the South Africans pulled back."

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Why, then, didn't the South Africans go all the way, when they had "in a week reached the mouth of the Kwanza River, at the very gates of Luanda."

No doubt because, as Savimbi says, they did not have miniaturized rockets "because of the arms embargo and because they were not prepared for a tank and air battle." This is a real joke knowing what a panoply Pretoria has, including the South African version of the French Roland system, the "Roland 2S," which, with addition "of the 'Crotale' weapons system units for tracking and centralized acquisition and Thomson C.S.F., [is] optimized for defense of "vulnerable points".¹

It was these same "Crotales" that Savimbi was requesting from Larteguy in order to defeat the "35,000 Cubans, 2500 East Germans, 2000 Russians and 80,000 Angolan communist militia and soldiers" and no doubt the rest of the Angolan people as well.

As for the assertion that he was not informed on the South African intervention, he need only reread the book ("In Search of Enemies") by John Stockwell, who ran CIA's Angolaoperation, about the instigations, as also revealed by Carter on 6 October 1976 during his election campaign, referring to "Messrs Ford, Kissinger and others who tried to make a new Vietnam out of Angola."

Further, after Savimbi's tour of the United States, John Stockwell, irritated by the Washington POST articles praising the UNITA leader, wrote: "His CIA friends taught him to lie. [...] In 1975-1976, despite massive South African aid and the CIA support, he lost [...] and he lost to such a degree his popular support that he had to resort to urban terrorism even against his own tribe: the Ovimbundus. UNITA boasts about bombing Ovimbundu markets." "He has no ideology, Stockwell adds, he has no belief other than his own egoistic ambitions."

This apparently explains how he can encourage the dreams of those, here and there, who have not lost hope of destabilizing Angola, above all isolating it.

It is such dreams--or rather nightmares--that motivate the editorial writer of JEUNE AFRIQUE when, assembling the nontruths, he dares to write: "The MPLA leaders who by an audacious act seized power in Angola in 1975 have not been able, despite the presence of 20,000 Cuban soldiers (he is more modest in his estimates than Savimbi), to pacify and control their whole country, which remain in civil...war. The economy shows the effects, and consequently true independence. Thus, an impasse.

"If in search of solidarity they did the opposite of what they have been doing thus far: did not monopolize power, agreed to share with those who

¹ AIR ET COSMOS, 24 January 1976

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had struggled (they also) for independence; they would not be rejected into the lap of the devil (South Africa) but would be given a place in Luanda."

Two more questions. Against whom has UNITA struggled? And since when, to JEUNE AFRIQUE, has South Africa been the devil?

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ANGOLA

BRIEFS

ALLEGED CUBAN AIR OPERATION--According to the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the movement opposing the Luanda regime, the Cubans launched an important air operation in the "liberated" provinces of the northern, northeastern and north-central regions of the country from mid-March to mid-April. The FNLA communique broadcast in London notes that these raids--one of which caused 11 deaths and 37 wounded among the civilian population on 7 April--are a "last-ditch operation" in the wake of the failure of the Cuban convoys escorted by USSR tanks and heavy materiel to enter the liberated areas of the north. The FNLA has asked "peace-loving countries" and private organizations for medical assistance and notes that, following these operations, a series of measures have been adopted to evacuate the villages. Thus, the communique stresses, Easter vacation was extended and a temporary reduced work schedule was imposed in 6 northern "liberated provinces." Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos visited Moscow last December in an attempt to obtain the Kremlin's assistance in convincing the Cubans to return to the positions they had abandoned in the north, the FNLA added. The same source specifies that following a demarche in Havana in April, the Angolan president was hoping to obtain important reinforcements for the 36,000 Cubans already in Angola. In the opinion of the FNLA, these hopes may be shattered in view of the fact that Castro himself is presently facing a number of difficulties. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 25 Apr 80 p 996]

REPORTED THREAT TO LARA--After Iko Carreira, the minister of defense who was sacked in February, another veteran of the Angolan armed struggle, Lucio Lara, is reportedly threatened with the same fate. He has allegedly lost a large part of his power as secretary general of the MPLA-Labor Party (notably in the field of propaganda) to Padual Luvualu, head of the people's militia. [Text] [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French No 1008 30 Apr 80 p 51]

ALLEGED MILITARY BASES--At Benguela, in southern Angola, the Soviets are now constructing a naval base that will accept submarines. A few kilometers away, the East Germans are building an airbase. [Text] [Paris PARIS MATCH in French 2 May 80 p 68]

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CAMEROON

EXPORT, IMPORT TRAFFIC THROUGH PORT OF DOUALA REPORTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 29 Feb 80 pp 514-515

[Article: "Port of Douala Goods Traffic Increased by 300,000 Tons in 1979"]

[Text] The port of Douala goods traffic has increased to a total of 3,140,120 tons in 1979, compared with 2,838,369 tons in 1978, i.e. an increase of 301,751 tons (+ 10.63 percent). The total of goods exported amounted to 901,898 tons (compared with 811,898 tons in 1978), i.e. an increase of 90,000 tons (+ 10 percent).

The total importations for 1979 were 2,238,222 tons, against 2,026,471 tons in 1978, i.e. an increase of 211,751 tons from one year to the other.

Hydrocarbons still represent 1/4 of all importations (621,868 tons in 1979 against 552,308 tons in 1978). Also noticeable among importations are the clinkers (391,763 tons in 1979) and chemical fertilizers (86,579 tons, i.e. less than in 1978: 101,980 tons). Irons and sheet irons, on the other hand, show a marked increase, from 97,861 tons in 1978 to 170,561 tons in 1979.

As for exportations, note the decreased volume of peanuts exported (from 5,456 tons in 1978 to 79 tons in 1979). In 1979, just as in 1978, the two main exportations of the port of Douala were logs (362,284 tons against 323,613 tons the previous years) and coffee which increased from 93,238 tons in 1978 to 109,559 tons in 1979.

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Main Importations Through Port of Douala, in 1978 and 1979 (in Tons)

	1979	1978
Total	2 218 000	2 604 232
including:		
Wines	33,726	30,861
Hydrocarbons.	621,868	552,308
Cements	40,160	23,324
Alumina	83,690	81,854
Cryolite, pitch	30,339	33,429
Vehicles and machines	37,138	39,967
Irons and sheet iron.	170,561	97,861
Spare parts	15,332	17,518
Lubricants.	11,894	13,459
Hardware.	80,873	82,822
Drugstore products.	4,316	4,728
Wheat flour	28,175	32,414
Dried fish.	378	706
Canned food	22,393	17,236
Beer, mineral water	11,234	7,682
Salt.	39,569	38,980
Miscellaneous fabrics	25,696	39,751
Chemical fertilizers.	86,579	101,980
Butane gas.	5,465	6,736
Clinkers.	391,763	329,660
Wheat, in bulk.	60,087	68,632
Barley malt	46,271	43,075
Granulated sugar.	24,123	41,814
Baryta.	26,483	17,539
Wheat semolina.	16,822	22,105
Frozen fish	17,232	10,809
Gypsum.	24,647	20,920
Bitumen	11,422	11,903
Other importations.	249,764	214,159

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Main Exportations Through Port of Douala, in 1978 and 1979 (in Tons)

	1979	1978
Total	893,191	807,977
including:		
Bananas	84,488	83,517
Cacao	49,193	46,916
Logs	362,284	323,613
Sawn timber	91,522	75,175
Coffee	109,559	93,238
Palm cabbages	10,139	9,544
Cotton	54,070	42,841
Peanuts	79	5,456
Cacao butter	11,397	11,520
Tobacco	2,913	3,381
Rubber	15,702	18,726
Aluminum	28,153	20,849
Hides and leather	1,686	1,376
Cattle cakes, cacao, cotton	19,729	22,871
Cotton seeds	307	128
Other exportations	51,970	48,826

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

1980-1981 ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 755

[Article: "1980-1981 Economic Recovery Plan"]

[Text] On 22 March, in Bangui, the Central African minister of planning and cooperation, Mr Jean-Pierre Le Boudier, presented the economic and social recovery plan of the Central African Republic for 1980 and 1981; the main objectives of the plan are rural development and the improvement of transport and communication infrastructures.

This plan to revive the economy, which has been adopted by the Cabinet, involves a total amount of 45 billion CFA Francs.

After assessing the "catastrophic" management record of former Emperor Bokassa, Mr Le Boudier stressed the necessity of first putting agriculture on its feet again since it provides a living for 80 percent of the working population and the bulk of the country's exports. Close to 15 billion CFA Francs will be spent on programs to increase the production of food crops, coffee and cotton, to train supervisory personnel and to give new impetus to livestock farming.

Twenty-one billion CFA Francs will be used to improve transport and communication infrastructures, including 10 billion for the construction, repair and maintenance of the country's principal roads.

President Dacko, who presided over the meeting at which the plan was presented, has asked "friendly countries" and international organizations to aid in financing these projects.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

OBJECTIVES OF FRENCH COOPERATION SET FORTH

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 755

[Article: "French Cooperation With Central African Republic Has Three Main Objects: Finances, Economy, Investments"]

[Text] On the occasion of President Dacko's visit to Paris, the ministry of cooperation has taken stock of the action taken since the restoration of the Central African Republic.

Since September 1979, following a request from the president of the republic, the ministry of cooperation has made a considerable effort in favor of the Central African Republic; this effort has dealt mainly with the restoration of public services and with economic recovery. The condition in which the country found itself warranted energetic action. The economy was totally disorganized. The road system was dilapidated and had to be overhauled to enable vehicle traffic. Traffic on the waterways had reached its lowest level since 1960. State-owned companies and public establishments were on the verge of bankruptcy.

Following instructions from the president of the republic, the action taken by the ministry of cooperation since September has had mainly three objectives:

1. Financial Recovery--A general plan for the reorganization of public finances was drawn up as early as January and its implementation by the government was started. It provides, on the one hand, for an extremely strict application of the state budget (limitation and control of personnel and operating expenditures) and, on the other hand, for a more efficient assessment and collection of receipts (preparation of a new investment code, revision of the tax census, reinforcement of customs controls). At the same time, national debt management will be reorganized.

The application of these various measures, which presupposes a reform or a reorganization of, and a better control over certain financial administrations, will be ensured in part by delegating a number of highly qualified French technical assistants who shall take an active part in all stages of execution of the plan.

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All these measures will bear fruit only little by little. In the meanwhile, France's financial assistance has enabled the state until now to meet its priority expenditures, especially personnel expenditures: 68 million French Francs (3.4 billion CFA Francs) have thus been granted during the last quarter of 1979, and approximately 10 million for the first two months of 1980. Loans have been granted by the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation pending the reception of funds from the European STABEX [Export Equalization Program] and the International Monetary Fund.

2. Economic Recovery--In view of the critical state of the economy, all sectors have been, almost systematically, surveyed: in particular, nationalized companies which cover essential activities (agricultural production, transports, energy) but also the other sectors: forestry, diamonds, postal services, telecommunications...

A diagnostic was made by technical assistants and experts from France. It will serve as a basis for the creation of new semi-public corporations, the management of which will from now on obey the rules of profitability of the private sector. Already, SOCATRAF [expansion unknown] is going to replace ACCF [expansion unknown] in the essential sector of river transportation. The FAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund] is taking care of the Central African Republic's participation in the capital of the new company. Other companies should be created in the near future: SOCADA [expansion unknown] for cotton, for instance, a company in charge of hydrocarbon distribution, a company taking over the ICAT [expansion unknown] textile plant.

3. New Impetus to Investments--Economic recovery also implies an overhaul of the infrastructures and of the means of transportation which are a prerequisite for the development of production and trade; this is why the FAC has agreed in January to make an unprecedented effort: over 28 million French Francs (1.4 billion CFA Francs) to finance 9 projects. The most favored sectors are the transports (roads, waterways, airports) which will receive nearly 90 percent of the credits.

The ministry of cooperation has provided assistance to the Central African authorities in preparing a meeting of lending organizations in Bangui, which is expected to take place during June. This meeting should contribute to give considerable new impetus to the transports (waterways and roads) and should result in an expansion and intensification of agricultural projects (cotton, coffee).

The assistance thus granted to the Central African Republic has greatly contributed to the progress which has been noted. For instance, 400 km of cotton trails have already been repaired, out of an estimated 1,700 km covered by the program; as a result, this season's harvest has been made much easier. Production of 30,000 tons of cotton and 12,000 tons of coffee is expected.

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In addition, the country's transportation and supply systems are increasingly standardized. Already, the oil product shortage is over. Oil products arrive through Pointe-Noire as usual, but also through Matadi and through Zaire, as well as through Cameroon. The reconstruction of the roads toward Cameroon now allows truck traffic, and normal road connections will be made possible within a year.

The air traffic control organization will again find its place within the Interafrican company created for this purpose, and this will improve the airport efficiency.

The river transportation company will be operated on new bases, and this will end up the economic isolation which little by little had overcome this region.

Finally, the minister of cooperation points out, now that its civil servants are paid regularly, that its police has regained its credibility and that its armed forces are in training, the Central African Republic possesses an undisputed and internationally recognized authority.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BREAKDOWN OF FRENCH INFRASTRUCTURE AID

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 693

[Text] The aid recently granted by France (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS 14 March 1980 page 629) for the improvement of the infrastructures in the Central African Republic amounted to a total of 1,225 million CFA francs, allocated as follows:

--300 million CFA francs for the repair of the cotton harvesting roads. This is the first stage of a project which also received a loan from the (French) Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (CCCE), equivalent to 300 million CFA francs.

The work should be completed before the beginning of the cotton-picking season (end of March-beginning of April). Over the past few years, the poor state of the roads tended to reduce cotton production and raised picking costs. For the 1978-1979 season, for instance, there were 4,000 tons of cottonseed that could not be marketed because the crop could not be picked in time.

--A supplement of 180 million CFA francs is granted per heavy unit of remetalling (ULR). Established in 1974, this mechanical unit was used immediately in the repair of the Nola-Berberati-Gamboula highway up until 1979, and then was transferred to the Berberati-Carnot-Baoro road. From 1974 until 1979, the ULR had received 1 billion CFA francs.

--220 million CFA francs have been allocated to the light unit for highway maintenance which, for the past year, has been working on the Bossembele-Garoua-Boulai highway, while at the same time a similar unit, provided by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is also operating there. The first batch of 175,000,000 has already been placed where it was needed.

--225 million CFA francs have been set aside for financing the State's share of the capital in the Central African River Transport Company (SOCATRAF), a joint [state and private] capital enterprise, established together with SAGA [expansion unknown]. A part of this credit will serve to cover supplementary studies, presumably to be carried out when the company gets under way.

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The value of the material provided by the Central African Agency for River Transport (ACCF) is estimated to be 250 million CFA francs. This is the second allocation of an overall total of 400 million CFA francs.

Assistance in the amount of 50 million CFA francs was also granted to finance certain equipment at Bangui airport, thus winding up an initial subsidy of 275 million CFA francs paid out in 1977.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

YOUTHS ISSUE RESOLUTIONS WITH DEMANDS

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 693

[Text] The First National Conference of Central African Youth was held in Bangui from 25 to 28 February and was attended by 150 young people from all the different parts of the country. During the course of the meeting, President Dacko warned the participants against the dangers of tribalism, regionalism and subversion, that could only be eliminated by putting an end to the rural exodus and combatting unemployment.

At the close of their discussions, the Central African youths adopted the following resolutions:

1. Renewal of the Integrated Development Committee's project;
2. Establishment of reeducation centers and village cooperatives;
3. Adaptation of education to environmental needs; increasing of the number of technical education (vocational ?) centers; centers for advanced vocational training;
4. Publication and application of administrative texts favoring the integration of young Central African groups;
5. Reductions in the prices of pharmaceutical goods, school supplies, and transport for students, members of large families and invalids;
6. Reduction of the number of pupils in the elementary grades to 50 per class;
7. Rehabilitation and building of socio-educational infrastructures, and particularly of stadiums; allowing the students to participate in the class councils; establishment of a National Library, or, alternatively, of libraries in every school;
8. The taking of the measures necessary for introducing an atmosphere of confidence at all levels of national life; and
9. The reestablishment of educational broadcasts on radio and television.

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CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

UDC SECRETARY GENERAL--At Bangui on 14 March, Jean-Claude Kazagui was elected secretary general of the Central African Democratic Union (UDC), with 261 ballots cast by the UDC's voting delegates, that is two-thirds of all the votes cast. Mr Kazagui, who is 43 years old, was minister of education. He is the author of a number of publications dealing with linguistics and literature, as well as several pedagogical works. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 692] 7129

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY ESTABLISHED--By Order No 80/026 of 23 Feb. 23 February 1980, a Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Handicrafts was established in the Central African Republic. It replaces two earlier bodies, namely the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industries and Handicrafts. It has been placed under the sponsorship of the minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines. A provisional 10-member office has been set up to organize the election of members to the new Chamber. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 692] 7129

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CHAD

BRIEFS

EMERGENCY FRENCH AID--France and the Chad signed a financing agreement on 13 March at Ndjamen, involving a total of 525 million CFA francs. The subsidy is within the framework of the emergency aid granted by France to the Chad last December. Its principal purpose is to aid rural development, public health, public education and the rehabilitation of public buildings as well as the purchase of vehicles. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 692] 7129

CARE TCHAD SUSPENDS ACTIVITIES--The U.S. philanthropic organization, Care Tchad, suspended its activities in Chad immediately upon the discovery of a large-scale theft of material and spare parts for workshop appliances (valued at 8 million CFA francs) from its warehouses at Ndjamen. A month ago, Care Tchad began work on resurfacing 60 kilometers of highway in the capital of Chad, in conjunction with elements from a French parachutist regiment stationed at Ndjamen. Apart from the roadwork, the U.S. organization had also started cleaning up the city and doing other jobs in the public interest. Care Tchad's decision left 1,000 workers idle; these were men who earned approximately 11,000 CFA francs monthly, a part of which was in goods. According to the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, for some weeks now, there has been a renewal of banditry in Ndjamen. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 692] 7129

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ETHIOPIA

INTERNAL DISORDERS REPORTED 'SIMMERING BENEATH SURFACE'

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 760

[Article: "The Fire is Smoldering Under the Embers"]

[Text] As already reported in our 29 February 1980 issue (page 522), Ethiopian authorities have decided to bring to trial officials accused of connections with the CIA or foreign countries, and of abusive use of their power, for instance to misappropriate funds. Among these are two DERG (Government Interim Military Committee) members, Lt-Col Demissie Deressa, a former member of the DERG central committee, and Col Abate Mersha.

In addition, LOS ANGELES TIMES special correspondent to Addis Ababa, David Lamb, reported lately that the Ethiopian ministers of justice and agriculture had been arrested. He underlined that the order which presently reigns in the Ethiopian capital (in striking contrast with the period of "red terror") cannot fully conceal the struggles which are going on.

At Mojo, south of Addis Ababa, farmers are said to have rebelled following unpopular measures to control cereal prices. According to diplomatic sources quoted by the LOS ANGELES TIMES, soldiers dispatched to restore order in Mojo were ambushed and killed.

These internal disorders come in addition to active guerilla warfare in Eritrea (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS 21 March 1980 p 699) and in Ogaden.

It is only thanks to the help of the USSR and its allies that Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu--who, for some time now, has taken an orientation toward the installation of a Soviet-type Ethiopian communist party--has been able to stay in power. According to David Lamb, there are now in Ethiopia 15,000 Cuban soldiers, 1,200 Soviet counselors and 1,200 more from East European countries.

A DERG delegation went to Moscow at mid-March. Following the delegation's conversations with Soviet officials, TASS reported that "economic cooperation"

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between Ethiopia and the USSR had been discussed during this visit. In fact, in addition to its military problems, Addis Ababa also has acute economic problems which have been aggravated lately by a threat of famine in the Ethiopian South.

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ETHIOPIA

UK CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON BATTLE FOR HORN OF AFRICA

LD241053 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 24 Apr 80 p 3

[Report by special correspondent "recently in Afabet, Eritrea": "Eritrea Guerrillas Back on Offensive"]

[Text] Two years of retreat by Eritrean forces in the face of Soviet-backed offensives by Ethiopia have ended. Since last winter, the Eritreans have been driving back the heavily armed and more numerous Ethiopian Army.

Now, with the Eritrean guerrillas enjoying a strong position around Afabet, in northern Eritrea, there is a lull in the fighting. But it may be only temporary. Both sides are mobilising for renewed fighting which is certain to break the stalemate.

Last December, Russian warships had to evacuate defeated Ethiopian troops from a Red Sea harbour, after Eritrean guerrillas had broken a year's encirclement of their mountainous base area in northern Eritrea.

This humiliating setback, for forces which have received more than \$1Bn worth of Russian arms in the past three years, embarrassed the Soviet Union. Moscow wants a secure foothold in the Horn of Africa, with its challenging position close to Saudi Arabia and to Red Sea and Indian Ocean shipping routes.

As a result, the Soviet Union has tried to arrange reconciliation between Ethiopia and the weaker of the two main Eritrean fighting groups, the Eritrean Liberation Front, with meetings in East Berlin, Rome and Moscow. Sudan, whose economy has been burdened with nearly 400,000 Eritrean refugees, is also attempting to find a settlement, believing that a solution in Eritrea will remove Ethiopia's dependence on the Soviet Union and stabilise the region.

Today, guerrillas of the more powerful Eritrean Popular Liberation Front virtually encircle the Ethiopians in the strategic town of Afabet. They surround an estimated 13,000 troops leaving one opening to the Red Sea, through which Afabet is irregularly supplied. From high on the steep ring of arid, volcanic ridges, the Ethiopians can be seen encamped on the broad plain. Each side holds entrenched positions on the innermost circles of hills, sometimes less than 200 metres apart.

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Neither side appears close to an easy victory, but a showdown may be imminent. Weekly skirmishes between small units suggest a testing of each other's defences, in preparation for larger attacks, and there are reports of vast quantities of equipment being flown in to Asmara airport, further south.

The Eritreans are now in the 19th year of their war for the independence of this former Italian colony, annexed by Ethiopia two decades ago.

"Ethiopia is weakening," said Petros Solomon, a member of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front's Political Bureau, in an interview behind the Afabet lines. "Militarily speaking, we are gaining the upper hand, but this takes time. There can be actions and counteractions on both sides before a decisive change takes place."

The front claims to have captured large quantities of Soviet arms in the battles between Nakfa and Afabet, including more than 100 military vehicles, 17 T-54 tanks, and an array of long-range artillery, anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns. All this is put to use by the highly skilled and committed guerrillas.

Among those shown are on a walking tour of the guerrilla positions were 76, 85 and 122mm artillery pieces, and 20, 23, 37 and 40 mm mobile medium-range weapons. Large numbers of T-54 tanks were also present in the rear for use as artillery.

Ethiopia, faced with its seeming inability to crush the Eritreans, recently welcomed moves by President Ja'far Numayri of Sudan to end the conflict, having rejected them out of hand in February 1979 when it thought it was winning. Its aim is to persuade Sudan to cut off the Eritreans' supply lines, a step which the front admits would severely hamper its now fully mechanised army.

Mr. 'Abd-al-Majid Khalil, Sudan's vice-president, has visited Addis Ababa twice in the past six weeks, but although Sudan has banned journalists from entering Eritrea, supplies to the front do not seem to be affected. The front is wary of Sudanese pressure, but says it has assurances from the Sudanese Government that it will be consulted before any action is taken.

"The Sudan is trying to bring the two sides to the negotiating table," said Issayas Afewerki, a field commander with the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front, in an interview at Afabet. "But they are not trying to impose a solution. For our part we are willing to talks."

A more serious threat to the Popular Liberation Front's present military advantage inside Eritrea may come from the apparent breakdown of moves to unite the rival Eritrean Liberation Front, which has been in contact with the Soviet Union.

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Repeated fighting between Popular Liberation Front and Eritrean Liberation Front forces has been reported since the beginning of the year. The Eritrean Liberation Front is also said to have mounted major attacks on the Tigre People's Liberation Front, which operates in the neighbouring province of Tigray, to the south and has close relations with the Popular Liberation Front in Eritrea.

The Popular Liberation Front and the Tigre Front have increasingly coordinated their military strategies against the Ethiopian Government, and they have, on several occasions, made joint attacks in the border region.

Contacts between these two movements and the Oromo Liberation Front, in southern Ethiopia, also appear to be developing. An Oromo Liberation Front spokesman in Sudan indicated his organisation is holding discussions with the Western Somali Liberation Front, which operates in southeastern Ethiopia with Somali Government backing.

Although there seems little likelihood of overall coordination between these diverse anti-government forces in the immediate future, such a possibility may be evolving in a broad move to overthrow the ruling military junta.

Against the background of this labyrinth, the battle shaping up for the Eritrean town of Afabet assumes a pivotal significance. An Ethiopian defeat would not be just a military setback for the government. It could also unsettle the attempts by Col Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the Ethiopian head of state to consolidate his one-man rule under a new Communist Party.

"It is a question of time," said Ali Savid a Popular Liberation Front military leader, of the coming confrontation at Afabet. "They are preparing themselves, and so are we."

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ETHIOPIA

NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH SUDAN REPORTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 7 Mar 80 p 579

[Article: "Normalization of Relations With Sudan is Materializing"]

[Text] Sudano-Egyptian relations which, at the end of January, were, in a way, to become materialized by the visit to Ethiopia, during this second week of March, of the first Sudanese vice-president, Lt-Gen Abdalmajid Hamid Kahlil, also minister of defense and commander-in-chief of his country's armed forces. [as published]

This was the first visit of such a high Sudanese official since Sudano-Ethiopian relations had deteriorated, about four years ago, after the Eritrean problem and its repercussions in Sudan had become bogged down.

The Sudanese leaders have often said that this problem is the only remaining obstacle to the normalization of relations between the two countries. Sudan, in fact, has had to welcome close to 4 million Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees since the outbreak of the conflict, 18 years ago.

Sudan favors a peaceful solution in Eritrea, while the Ethiopians believe that they can arrive at a military solution. The leaders of the Eritrean guerillas, for their part, are pushing for a peaceful solution, provided it brings them independence.

However, some of the obstacles to a solution seem to have been lifted last month, at least on the Ethiopian side.

Last January, in an opening address to the Third National Congress of the Sudanese Socialist Union (the SSU, now in power), President Gaafar El Nimeiry announced that the Addis-Ababa government had accepted to open peace negotiations with the Eritreans, with Sudan to act as a mediator; until now, this solution had been categorically ruled out by the military now in power in Ethiopia.

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The uncompromisingness of the Ethiopian head of state, Lt-Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, on this subject had even caused the failure of the Sudano-Ethiopian negotiations on normalization organized last year in Freetown by the OAU.

The presence of an Ethiopian delegation at the SSU Congress, and the announcement by President Nimeiry that Sudan had been given the "green light" to organize peace negotiations providing "self-government" for Eritrea has shown, according to observers, that the Ethiopian position has changed. However, Khartoum now expects the Eritreans to show a more compromising attitude. If the latest statements of the FPLE [expansion unknown] are to be believed, this cannot yet be taken for granted.

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ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

OGADEN CASUALTIES--According to the West Somalian Liberation Front (WSLF) which is leading the guerrilla in Ogaden against Addis Ababa armed forces, considerable fighting has been taking place in this province, the inhabitants of which are Somalis, although it is located within Ethiopia's internationally recognized borders. The WSLF states that its men have killed lately over 2,000 Ethiopian soldiers in fights reported to have taken place in Babile and Jijiga, two villages controlled by forces from Addis Ababa, while the rebels control the bush. The Somali guerrillas are also said to have captured military equipment and weapons. While they do not give details as to their own losses, they state that this has been the most severe defeat inflicted upon the Ethiopians in the area during the past year. To retaliate, Ethiopian airplanes have bombed two areas located in the inland of the Somali Republic, around mid-March. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 760] 9294

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LIBERIA

SITUATION REMAINS DISTURBED OUTSIDE CAPITAL

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 690

[Text] The quick action taken by the government to check the attempt made by the Progressive People's Party (PPP) to overthrow the former (MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS 14 March 1980 page 627), was not enough to disarm the opposition entirely. Agitation was seen to continue in several towns outside the capital of the country. A number of observers believe that the PPP has accomplices both in the police and in the army. They have lost count of the number of arrests made among members of the opposition party which might well be banned shortly.

The NEW LIBERIAN, a newspaper attached to the Ministry of Information, nevertheless called for moderation of the repressive measures, believing it was useless to start a witch hunt which could most likely worsen the situation.

Moreover, the unacknowledged Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), of socialistic bent, and with some influence in the country, campaigned to the same effect, demanding that "a stop be put to the arbitrary arrests, lacking in vision and allied to torture." The president of the organization, Tagba Nah Tipoteh, suggested that only those against whom verifiable charges could be laid be sent for trial and that they be judged quickly and equitably. He emphasized that MOJA is not connected directly nor indirectly with the PPP, even though the position it takes might suggest a certain amount of solidarity with the latter, which is also socialist in tendency.

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LIBERIA

BRIEFS

IDENTITY CARD INSTITUTED--On 3 March, the Liberia parliament has approved the institution of an identity card for all the citizens of the country. This measure is warranted, they said, by the fact that Liberia belongs to the West African States Economic Community (CEDEAO) which provides, among others, for the free circulation of persons between member countries.
[Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 751] 9294

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MALI

BRIEFS

STATE COMPANY PHASE-OUT--The (Malian) Company for Credit and Assistance for Rural Equipment will disappear. Bankruptcy and poor administration are the reasons for its demise. A state company, the SCAER will probably be replaced by an agricultural credit bank funded by both foreign and domestic capital. [Text] [Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French No 1008 30 Apr 80 p 51]

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MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

REPORTED AMBASSADORIAL PRESSURE--As we had already announced it, Maputo's ambassador to Lisbon, Armando Panguene, has been appointed governor of Cabo Delgado province. According to observers in the Portuguese capital, this departure is reportedly aimed at applying pressure on the Portuguese government, which has not filled its post of ambassador in Maputo for nearly a year. The appointment of a "political" ambassador in the capital of Mozambique would constitute a first step toward a detente between the former colonizer and its former colony, which must solve important economic and financial differences following the nationalization of Portuguese banks and businesses in Mozambique. [Excerpt] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 18 Apr 80 p 943]

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NIGER

BRIEFS

LIBYAN BUS DONATION--At the end of February, Mr Bokhari Hamouda, Libyan ambassador to Niger, delivered a gift of four buses to Amadou Ousmane, director-general of the Nigerian national transport company (SNTN). These buses, each seating 100 passengers, represent a sum of approximately 144 million CFA francs. Seven months earlier, Libya had offered Niger two Buell cars, also for SNTN. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 687] 7129

TSERNAOUA-TAHOUA ROAD WORK--The Niger Public Works Department is going to undertake work on the Tsernaoua-Tahoua road (RN 29), which will be divided into two stages. The first of these involves two constructions, one of 46 miles and the other of 59 miles and access thereto, the straightening of approximately 100 miles of the Kori bed and the introduction of modern conveniences in two sanitation projects. The second stage calls for construction of a 59 mile stretch and the necessary access roads. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 687] 7129

DELEGATION TO ABU DHABI--On 16 March, in Abu Dhabi, an official delegation from Niger, headed by Minister of Transportations and Public Works, Mr Moussa Bako, has met with officials of the Arab Fund for Economic Development of the Emirate with whom they have discussed the possible financing by the Fund of a railroad project in Niger. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 749] 9294

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SENEGAL

CLANDESTINE PAI MEMBERS ARRESTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 683

[Text] Eight people, all of them members of the African Independence Party (clandestine PAI) were arrested in Dakar on 17 March 1980, and put at the disposal of the Public Prosecutor's Office. Those involved were Amath Dansokho and Magatte Thiam, members of the clandestine PAI's political bureau and six of the party's militants.

According to circles close to the competent Senegalese authorities, they will be charged with speaking out at a workers' meeting of the "Conserveries du Senegal" (Senegalese Canning plant) on Pier 8 of the Dakar port, and inciting the men to strike. They had already been questioned at the Prosecutor's Office on 14 March, then released and called in again the next day.

Thiam, who works as a journalist for the newspaper ANDE SOPPI (UNITE TO CHANGE), under the direction of the former Council president, Mamadou Dia, and Dansokho are not entitled to exercise any political activity on behalf of PAI.

Pursuant to the terms of the laws of 1976 and 1978, Senegal in effect has a four-party regime which authorizes only the following: a conservative party, Boubakar Gueye's Senegalese Republican Movement; a liberal party, Abdoulaye Wade's Senegalese Democratic Party, which has 16 representatives in Parliament; the socialist party, now in power (82 deputies); and a Marxist party, the African Independence party, reestablished in 1976 by Mahjmout Diop, which is the only PAI recognized by Senegalese law and which, as such, participated, though without any success, in the legislative election held 26 February 1978.

It should be borne in mind that the PAI, originally created in 1957, was communist in tendency and had as its first executive secretary Mahjmout Diop. In 1960, however, the party became an underground movement and subsequently broke up into several different groups, particularly the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese.

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Mahjmout Diop's PAI, officially reestablished in 1976, which is neither pro-Chinese nor pro-Soviet (only the Romanian PC came to last year's PAI congress) has been contested by the clandestine PAI. Amath Dansokho and Magatte Thiam, arrested today, are among the latter group's leaders. The group claims it is the only legitimate PAI, that it is close to the Soviet and French PC's. In 1977, it attempted to return to legality but its appeal was rejected by the authorities, who based their action on the law stating that there may be only one marxist party.

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SENEGAL

CONSEQUENCES OF BUD-SENEGAL'S LIQUIDATION NOTED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80 p 744

[Article: "After Bud-Senegal's Liquidation. Truck Farming: Lack of Credits Threatens Several Projects"]

[Text] As a consequence of the liquidation of the industrial truck-farming company, Bud-Senegal, the Senegalese minister of rural development has indicated on 23 September 1979 (see MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS dated 5 October 1979 p 2702- that a group of rural families would resume farming in the Baobab perimeter. In addition, the minister had indicated that farming in the other perimeters (Sebikotane, under state supervision; Tivaouane Peuhl, Thyr and Kirene, through organized farmers) would continue under the same conditions.

The Senegalese minister of rural development has recently visited the area where these perimeters are located. Thus, 105 hectares are now being farmed in the rural truck-farming perimeter of Baobab by close to 220 families, each including more than 5 working members.

In Kirene, too, 120 hectares are being farmed, which provides occupation for nearly 240 families, i.e. an estimated total of 1,100 working members.

At Tivaouane Peulh, a small perimeter initially created under the policy of expansion of Bud-Senegal toward the Thies and Casamance regions, 11 hectares are presently farmed by 22 families. Thus, a total of 236 hectares are now providing jobs for 2,300 people.

As a comparison, let us recall that in 1977, 5 years after its creation, Bud-Senegal farmed directly over 700 hectares and provided permanent or seasonal employment for over 3,000 people in its perimeters.

Specifications defining the relations between the project and the farmers and approved by both parties have been established for each perimeter. Among other things, they enable truck farmers to have a say in setting the price of their produce.

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However, this temporary project to replace Bud-Senegal is still lacking in many respects and has not yet made it possible to make up for all the social and economic consequences of the company's liquidation.

While it gives jobs to some former workers of the defunct company, it has not yet made it possible to organize efficiently Cape Verde truck farmers.

Finally, if the project has survived until now, the daily LE SOLEIL from Dakar states, the farmers have ONCAD [National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development] to thank for it, who gave them a 10 million CFA Francs loan repayable from the campaign credit balance.

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SENEGAL

FOREST PROTECTION ALLOCATIONS DETAILED

Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 683

[Text] The Senegalese Secretary for Water and Forest Resources, Shaykh Cissokho, in the course of a recent interview with the daily newspaper LE SOLEIL of Dakar, declared that the totality of the projects to be undertaken for forest protection until the start of the VI Plan, will cost 10 billion CFA francs.

The Senegalese forest is of importance to a whole section of West Africa since it represents the northern bulwark against the spread of the desert.

"From the standpoint of the economic role of forests," Shaykh Cissokho added, "I would simply note that the forests contribute 8 billion francs to the economy--particularly the rural economy--each year. There are 650 forest developers who earn their living from forest products and a number of small sectors, difficult to enumerate, who also add to the population's overall income, although their forest products are generally not connected with woods.

"Forest developers employ some 13,000 wage-earners, whereas the projects hire some 1,350 people. In other words, without taking into account the sawmills and plants for the treatment of the harvested products, such as of the areca palm, the administration of Water and Forest Resources affects some 15,000 wage-earners which, after all, is not a negligible number when viewed in the light of the government's hiring policy."

Shaykh Cissokho noted that he was engaged in a two-fold campaign of reforestation and limitation of brush fires, started by the population in order to clear an area, but which last year burned out 232,457 hectares (in 283 declared fires).

"The Senegalese forest reserve," the Secretary observed, "actually covers 3.2 million hectares, if one computes both the areas classified as forest and the forest-pastoral reserves. In addition to the national forests, there are eight other hunting zones, where the hunting laws are stricter. These latter represent a total of 2,027,800 hectares, so that, all told, direct protection, guarding against reckless cutting of the vegetation cover, applies on 5,227,800 hectares."

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SENEGAL

BRIEFS

NEW CONTROL BODY ESTABLISHED--In Senegal, a new control organization was recently created. It involved ministerial inspectors whose specific role is to ensure "the follow-up on the enforcement of decisions taken by the Cabinet, on the execution of decisions ordered in interministerial council, on the progress of work assigned to ministerial and inter-ministerial working parties, on the carrying out of conclusions reached in the financial control's inspection reports, on the work of the accounts' verification commission and on the control over public enterprise, and lastly, on the enforcement of the recommendations made by the Office of Organization and Methods." [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 683] 7129

JAPANESE, EEC RICE, MAIZE DONATIONS--On 3 March, Japan donated to Senegal a total of 5,000 tons of rice, the sale of which, on the local market, will enable the country to purchase 5,000 tons of millet for free distribution to the rural populations who have been victimized. Moreover, the EEC on 4 March gave Senegal 2,175 tons of rice, representing the first food assistance for 1980, and which will be followed, within the very near future, by shipments of 2,222 corn semolina, and 1,860 tons of powdered milk, for free distribution to the peasants. In addition, the EEC will disburse an amount equivalent to 87 million CFA francs for transport of the millet stocked by the National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development (ONCAD), to the Fleuve and Sine Saloum regions. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 683] 7129

ELECTRIFICATION OF KOLDA--A 1,200 kW electric power station is almost completed at Kolda. The work should be done by 31 March and will represent a total outlay of 320 million CFA francs. According to the regional Senelec authority, an electrification project at Casamance, financed by Denmark, should contribute to the preparation of an overall plan and particularly to the establishment of a power station at Ziguinchor, work on which is slated to begin in 1981. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 684] 7129

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HIGHER SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATION--Senegal has decided to give itself a higher school of business administration (ESGE) to remedy its lack of qualified management personnel. The purpose of this school is to enable the 2,500 managers holding jobs in Senegal's 100 or so semi-public enterprises to perfect their training in order to achieve better control of the rapidly changing economic systems. The school of administration will admit candidates already holding second cycle university degrees, either for a 36 months' practical course or for a refresher training-period. The school board will include representatives of the private sector. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80, p 744] 9294

EUROPEAN DROUGHT RELIEF--Senegal will again receive special assistance from the European Community, amounting to 700,000 ECU (approximately \$970,000) to finance the shipping of cereals and the purchasing of cattle supplies (See above under "News from Brussels"). [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 28 Mar 80, p 744] 9294

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TANZANIA

BRIEFS

DAR ES SALAAM PORT SURCHARGE--As from 19 March, the United States-East African-Australian Conference imposed a surcharge for vessels stopping over at Dar es Salaam. The charge is equivalent to 25 percent, is applicable to all merchandise and is justified by the extension of the waiting period at the port. The Tanzania Harbor Authority (THA) protested this "unilateral" decision. [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 698] 7129

MINISTER ON PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN--The existence of the private business sector is not threatened, according to a recent statement made by the Tanzanian minister of commerce, Ibrahim Kaduma, in the course of an address to the businessmen. However, Kaduma said that the Tanzanian Government could refuse to renew business licenses in some specific cases, adding that no new licenses would be granted. He made it clear that these measures were taken with a view to eliminating businessmen of dubious character who operated with licenses, but had no proper places of business. The present number of private businesses in the country, he concluded, "is more than sufficient." [Text] [Paris MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEENS in French 21 Mar 80 p 698] 7129

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ZIMBABWE

ROBERT MUGABE VICTORY ASSESSED

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 12 Mar 80 pp 38, 39, 41

[Article by Sennen Andriamirado]

[Text] Nkomo the tactician was expected to win. It was Mugabe the intransigent who won the elections, with flying colors. Of the two patriotic front leaders it was the one most hated by the Rhodesian Whites who revealed himself the most popular with the Blacks. Exit pale power. Exit Abel Muzorewa whose collaboration with Ian Smith the rebel ended in tarnishing the image decisively.

Fifty-three years old, Robert Mugabe, who not long ago was introduced by Westerners as "the marxist devil," as "the executioner and torturer," won power through the ballot-box after having pursued it with arms. The leader of ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front) is even now one of the few African leaders able to demonstrate, with a submachine gun in one hand and a ballot in the other, that power is not found at the end of a gun, but essentially in the ballot box.

With 62.9 percent of the votes and 57 seats in a 100-member Assembly, Mugabe's party obtained an absolute majority in the 27 to 29 February elections. Grinning and bearing it, the representative of the colonial power, Lord Christopher Soames, named him as of 4 March to form the government which must now shoulder Zimbabwe's independence. And Lord Soames is perfectly aware that if he yields to this victory, it is because he did everything in his power to prevent it.

Perfidy of Fair Play

Actually few expected such a victory. It was known that Mugabe and his guerrillas were popular. But the co-leader of the Patriotic Front, Joshua Nkomo, president of ZAPU (Zimbabwe's African People's Union) and his guerrillas were credited with being equally popular. And worse: many observers had the second winning over the first. It was also known that Bishop Abel Muzorewa had condemned himself to failure by accepting, beginning in March 1978, to compromise himself with Ian Smith's rebel, minority and racist

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regime. But no one had estimated to what extent the weight of arms would be transferred into votes in favor of Robert Mugabe.

Zimbabwe has therefore won its liberty. Rhodesia is dead, long live Zimbabwe! Perfidy or fair play, after 15 years of systematic opposition to progress in the face of white rebellion, 3 months after resuming its responsibilities as the protector of the power, Great Britain is leaving. Let the "negroes" straighten out their own affairs. But perfidious Albion knows how to transform itself into a Pontius Pilate: Mugabe? you wanted him, you have him now.

But, unfortunately, broken by 15 years of white rebellion, including 7 years of war, Zimbabwe takes on a new lease on life with gaping wounds. Among the older guerrillas themselves, refraternization remains to be accomplished. With 24.1 percent of the votes and 20 deputies, Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU, which can also take pride in having led the combat, is far from being a negligible partner for Robert Mugabe. Both leaders of the same guerrilla war, they were not able to realize the same coalition in the elections. And, undoubtedly, encouraged by the British, Joshua Nkomo, who is looked upon as a "moderate nationalist" had reportedly envisaged even before the elections, forming a coalition of small parties--which he would have directed--as a bloc opposing Robert Mugabe's ZANU. The maneuver came to a sudden end as Mugabe captured the absolute majority, automatically defeating any attempt by the minority to reassemble in order to oppose him.

Marathon Toward Power

Magnanimous, the great conqueror even proposed to his companion in yesterday's struggle, Joshua Nkomo, incontestable prime mover of the guerrillas from the very beginning, to join his government as minister of defense. Nkomo hesitated. He could not beat about the bush for any length of time. His base was pushing him toward a new alliance with Robert Mugabe. His close deputies reportedly had gone over (long ago, but under cover) to the new head of Zimbabwe. Mugabe, apparently, at the time of the guerrilla war, had introduced some of his men into the ranks of ZAPU. This was the case of George Silundika, Joshua Nkomo's first lieutenant, who had advocated a common ticket with Mugabe's ZANU and who had always prevented his "boss" from signing any secret accords with Ian Smith's white regime.

Furthermore: the group directed by George Silundika had apparently already negotiated a new independent Zimbabwe constitution with Mugabe. The president of the republic would no longer have been a chief of state, in theory only but without power vis-a-vis his prime minister; he would have been able to control two of the most "strategic" offices, defense and foreign affairs. According to this plan, Joshua Nkomo could have been president--which is what he always wanted. And Mugabe would have been prime minister--which he is now. Then there would have been an opportunity for both guerrillas not only to find themselves in power together again, but also not to transform their liberation militants into personal militiamen in their marathon

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toward power. After Robert Mugabe's victory all that remained for Joshua Nkomo was to jump on the bandwagon rather than to return to the maquis.

The same does not apply to the former prime minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. A big loser, the prelate is sizing up today to what extent his collusion with the white minority was a mistake. He recommended electoral democracy against the war of liberation. He lost one without ever having touched the other. With only 8.2 percent of the votes and 3 seats in Parliament, Abel Muzorewa, even with the support of 20 white deputies is "finished." He neither succeeded in using the enormous financial means granted to him by Ian Smith and the South Africans profitably nor in exploiting the tribal Shona structure from which he had descended. Muzorewa made a mistake regarding his adversary. He wanted to fight the N'Debele Joshua Nkomo. It was his fellow Shona, Robert Mugabe, who crushed him.

Strategist and Diplomat

While Muzorewa "the man of the Whites" is the big loser at the elections, it does not necessarily mean that the way is completely clear for the victorious. But the defeat of the man whom the guerrillas called "Smith's puppet" worries the Whites. All the more so, since Robert Mugabe's Marxism is not reassuring to the farmers who, because of the color of their skin and their privileges as landowners, have always considered themselves as the only masters of "their Rhodesia."

However, Robert Mugabe has made a formidable ally among the Whites in the person of General Peter Walls, who only yesterday was still the boss of the Rhodesian Army which fought him. Meetings took place between these two men in order to silence the guns and edify tomorrow's Zimbabwe. On 4 March General Walls succeeded in calling on all of Zimbabwe to halt the hostilities in the name of the Rhodesian (white) forces and the (black) armed guerrilla organizations. According to reports, Robert Mugabe might request this general officer to remain at the head of the new Zimbabwe armed forces.

Only the essential point remains. That is to say, foreign affairs, and in first place South Africa. After Zimbabwe's independence South Africa now becomes the last "white" bastion in Africa. The apartheid regime is literally encircled by countries which cannot be suspected of being favorably inclined toward it. To the west, Angola "cubanized"; to the east, Mozambique, dyed-in-the-wool socialism; to the north, from now on, Zimbabwe whose head is looked upon as an uncompromising Marxist. Apparently, South Africa is seemingly directly menaced by Robert Mugabe's arrival to power.

Actually, at least for the time being, that is not so. A good strategist and an able diplomat, Robert Mugabe had taken precautions. Foreseeing violent and armed hostility from the South Africans, on his own initiative

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he sent emissaries to Pretoria and the Cape to reassure apartheid in regard to his intentions: no exportation of the Zimbabwe revolution, no attempt to strangle the South African regime. On 1 and 2 March he met personally with South African officials in Maputo (Mozambique): Roelof Plik Botha, minister of foreign affairs and General Magnus Malan, army chief-of-staff. This encounter was denied on both sides, but it is not impossible. After all, pragmatists, the socialist regimes of Mozambique and Angola coexist quite well (and cooperate economically) with South Africa. The latter's position is well known. Prime Minister Pieter Botha, when Mugabe's victory had been announced on 4 March, proclaimed: "Any neighboring state which would allow its territory to serve as a base for attacks against South Africa must expect to face our entire forces."

The South African leaders would not forgive Robert Mugabe if he allowed black South African nationalists to use Zimbabwe as a rear base. For the sake of Zimbabwe's survival, Mugabe can only give in. As to the liberation of South Africa, he cannot temporize too long.

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